

Message Text

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13

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 057229

R 150245 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8663

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL FRANCE

CHUSDEL FPJMC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SAIGON 4203

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR VS

SUBJECT: HUNGARIAN ICCS VIEWS

REF: A. SAIGON 3782; B. SAIGON 3684; C. SAIGON 3441

1. SUMMARY: IN MARCH 13 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, HUNGARIAN DEPUTY ICCS DELEGATE IMRE URANOVICZ' S MOOD WAS POLEMICAL. RECENT DEFECTION OF SGT. GYORGY WALNER, THE REPORT THAT HUNGDEL HAD RECEIVED OF THE MARCH 9 CONVERSATION BETWEEN ASST. SEC. GREEN AND AMBASSADOR SZABO, AND HUNGARIAN VIEW OF CANADIAN TACTICS AT RECENT ICCS PLENARY SESSIONS CONTRIBUTED TO THIS MOOD. URANOVICZ SAID THAT HUNGARIANS WANTED TO SEE A BALANCE IN ICCS INVESTIGATIONS, AND THAT GVN VIOLATIONS AND NON- COOPERATION WITH PRG TOGETHER WITH THE ICCS BLAMING PRG FOR ALL CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS MIGHT ONLY WORSEN MATTERS TO POINT WHERE PRG WOULD REACT MILITARILY. " IN THAT EVENT, THE RVN WOULD BE NO MATCH FOR THE PRG, EITHER ORGANIZATIONALLY OR MILITARILY." HE AGAIN SAID KEY TO MAKING PARIS AGREEMENTS WORK WAS GVN- PRG COOPERATION, AND IMPLIED THAT US EFFORTS WITH THE GVN SHOULD BE DIRECTD TOWARDS THIS END. END SUMMARY.

2. URANOVICZ BEGAN MARCH 13 CONVERSATION BY INQUIRING ABOUT SGT. CONFIDENTIAL

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GYORGY WALNER. EMBOFF RELAYED UPI PRESS ACCOUNTS OF WALNER' S ASYLUM REQUEST THAT WAS GRANTED BY AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY, WHICH HAD

ARRANGED FOR HIS DEPARTURE FROM VIET- NAM. EMBOFF TOLD URANOVICZ THAT USG HAD NOT SEEN WALNER, AND THAT AS REFLECTED IN UPI ACCOUNTS THE MATTER WAS HANDLED ENTIRELY BY AUSTRALIANS. URANOVICZ, WHO CLEARLY DID NOT BELIEVE THIS, COMMENTED RATHER CRYPTICALLY THAT " THE ISSUE WOULD BE DECIDED IN BUDAPEST".

3. URANOVICZ THEN BROUGHT UP MARCH 9 CONVERSATION IN WASHINGTON BETWEEN ASST. SEC. GREEN AND AMBASSADOR SZABO. HE SAID THAT HUNGDEL WAS UPSET BY THIS CONVERSATION, WHICH, AS REPORTED TO THEM, APPEARED TO GO BEYOND CONVERSATION, PREVIOUSLY HELD WITH POLISH AMBASSADOR (WHICH THEY HAD ALSO SEEN). EMBOFF NOTED WE HAD BEEN CLEARLY INFORMED THAT THE TWO CONVERSATIONS WERE PARALLEL.

4. URANOVICZ SAID AMBASSADOR ESZTERGALYOS PERSONALLY WAS " SHOCKED" BY SZABO' S REPORT WHICH CLAIMED THAT GREEN HAD REFERRED TO A RADIO REPORT THAT ESZTERGALYOS HAD EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH WORK OF ICCS, THE IMPLICATION BEING DRV HAD STYMIED ICCS, AND ESZTERGALYOS HAD THEREFORE CRITICIZED THEM. ACCORDING TO SZABO, GREEN THEN ADDED, " IF THIS IS TRUE, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HIGHLY APPRECIATES IT."

5. EMBOFF ASKED URANOVICZ WHETHER HE KNEW SZABO PERSONALLY, AND WAS ANSWERED WITH A FAINT SMILE, " WE HAVE TAKEN THAT INTO ACCOUNT." HE IMPLIED REPORTS TO BUDAPEST WHICH CARRIED IMPLICATION ESZTERGALYOS WAS TAKING AN ANTI- DRV STAND, OR SHOULD DO SO, WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERCUT HIM HERE, AND WOULD WEAKEN HIS POSITION WITH DRV AND PRG. URANOVICZ EMPHASIZED THAT HIS CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF SHOULD NOT BE CITED IN ANY FASHION WHICH COULD PUT HIM IN A SIMILAR PREDICAMENT. EMBOFF RENDERED APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES, AND NOTED WE VALUED THESE DISCUSSIONS AS OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN CLEAR READING OF HUNGARIAN ICCS ATTITUDES.

6. URANOVICZ PROVIDED HUNGARIAN VIEW OF CANADIAN PERFORMANCE IN ICCS PLENARY SESSIONS. (HIS REMARKS WERE MADE IN SOME HEAT, BUT EVEN IF DISCOUNTED TO AN EXTENT, OBVIOUSLY REFLECT HUNGARIAN VIEW.) CANADIANS HAD CONSISTENTLY CORNERED HUNGARIANS IN ICCS PLENARY SESSIONS. CANADIANS APPEARED TO PROMOTE THOSE ALLEGED CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS WHICH INVOLVED PRG AS CULPRIT. HUNGARIANS, ON OTHER HAND, WERE TAKING BALANCED VIEW. IF PARIS AGREEMENTS ARE TO WORK, HE SAID, THERE MUST BE NO SINGLING OUT OF ONE SIDE.
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" ESZTERGALYOS HAS SAVED AN OPEN ICCS CLASH AND HAS HELD THIS TOGETHER. FOR THE FACT OF SUCH A CLASH, YOU WOULD HAVE TO FAULT YOUR OWN PARTNERS (I.E., CANADIANS). CANADIAN POLEMICS HAVE PUT OUR BACKS TO THE WALL TIME AFTER TIME, AND ESZTERGALYOS UNTIL NOW HAS PERSONALLY SAVED THE SITUATION."

7. ON SA HUYNH INVESTIGATION, URANOVICZ SAID HUNGARIANS WOULD NOT HAVE OBJECTED TO A CANADIAN RESOLUTION THAT FORWARDED TO FPJMC REGIONAL TEAM' S RECOMMENDATION THAT THE PRC PARTICIPATE.

BUT THEY COULD NOT GO ALONG WITH SENDING AN " INCOMPLETE" REPORT. EMBOFF POINTED OUT THAT SUCH A VIEW WOULD EFFECTIVELY HAMSTRING ICCS INVESTIGATIONS, IF A CONCERNED PARTY COULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE, BY SIMPLE NONPARTICIPATION, FOR A REPORT TO BE CONSIDERED " COMPLETE". URANOVICZ THEN LEFT THE " PROCEDURAL POINT", AS HE PUT IT, AND SAID THAT HIS DELEGATION HAD TRIED HARD TO GET PRG TO PARTICIPATE IN SA HUYNH INVESTIGATION. PRG ARE NOT LAWYERS AND ARE NOT WESTERNERS, HE EMPHASIZED. POINT SHOULD NOT BE TO DRIVE HUNGARIANS - AND PRG - TO THE WALL ON A PARTICULAR INVESTIGATION. A BALANCE OF SUCH INVESTIGATIONS IS NEEDED, AND NOT A ONE- SIDED RECORD THAT WILL MERELY AGGRAVATE ANY POSSIBILITY OF THE VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES WORKING THINGS OUT. HE ALSO STRESSED HUNGARIANS HAVE PROBLEM MAINTAINING THEIR OWN CREDIBILITY, AS WESTERN COMMUNISTS WITH PRG. HE IMPLIED THAT IF CANADIANS CONTINUE TO FORCE HUNGARIANS INTO A CORNER, THEIR ROLE WITH PRG WILL BE MADE VASTLY MORE DIFFICULT.

8. URANOVICZ AGAIN EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN VIET- NAM AFTER X PLUS SIXTY. HE SAID PRG IS ALARMED OVER " CONTINUING RVN LAND GRABS, AND BELIEVED THAT IF BACKED INTO A MILITARY CORNER, PRG WOULD OVERWHELM RVN, " WHICH IS SIMPLY NO MATCH FOR THEM, EITHER MILITARILY OR ORGANIZATIONALLY." HE AGAIN REFERRED TO NEED FOR GVN AND PRG TO WORK TOGETHER AND EXPRESSED SOME PERSONAL DOUBT THAT GVN DELEGATION TO TWO- PARTY TALKS IN PARIS IS SUFFICIENTLY HIGH- RANKING TO DEMONSTRATE GVN SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE. HE AGAIN REFLECTED HIS CONCERN TIME IS RUNNING OUT, AND THAT US SHOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO PERSUADE GVN TO ACT IN A CONCILIATORY MANNER TOWARD PRG. " SOME SORT OF COALITION MUST EMERGE FROM THIS", HE STATED.

9. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH CAUGHT UP IN POLEMICS OF RECENT EVENTS, URANOVICZ APPEARED GENUINELY CONVINCED HUNGDEL, ALTHOUGH IN A DELICATE POSITION, WAS FURNISHING POSITIVE ICCS LEADERSHIP.
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HIS VIEW THAT US INFLUENCE MUST BE FIRMLY EXERCISED WITH GVN IN DIRECTION OF CONCILIATION TOWARD PRG, A VIEW THAT HE HAS EXPRESSED BEFORE, WAS PRESSED WITH PARTICULAR VIGOR. IMPLICATION OF HIS REMARKS WAS THAT IF, AS CANADIANS AND OTHERS APPEARED TO BELIEVE, HUNGARIANS WERE REALLY IN AN OBSTRUCTIONIST ROLE, THAT COURSE WOULD BE EASY. " BUT WE WANT THIS AGREEMENT TO WORK, AND WE WANT TO CONTRIBUTE IN A POSITIVE MANNER TOWARD ACHIEVING THIS", HE CONCLUDED.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 07 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 MAR 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: smithrj
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973SAIGON04203
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: SAIGON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730348/abqcegzr.tel
Line Count: 158
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: A. SAIGON 3782; B. SAIGON 3684; C. SAIGON 3441
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: smithrj
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <10-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <17-Oct-2001 by smithrj>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> srp 971204
Subject: HUNGARIAN ICCS VIEWS
TAGS: MARR, VS
To: STATE INFO BUDAPEST
JAKARTA
OTTAWA
WARSAW
FRANCE
CHUSDEL FPJMC
Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005